Other developments, however, combined to play into the hands of the extreme elements on both sides. Economic conditions, for instance, contributed towards the growth of revolutionary tendencies, and the desire for desperate remedies, among the working classes; while among the propertied classes, increases in taxation, especially those imposed by the Vienna Socialist municipality, sharpened aristocratic yearnings for a return to pre-war conditions.

The control exercised by foreign Powers over Austrian economic and foreign policy also served to bring the whole system of parliamentary democracy into disrepute. This form of government was, as has been pointed out, in any case regarded by the extreme groups on both sides as a temporary expedient, and such an attitude grew more and more prevalent when it became apparent that parliamentary democracy was nothing more than a façade behind which Austria's foreign creditors worked their will. Again, economic conditions sharpened the already existing antagonism between the Provinces and Vienna. And, because economic necessity made imperative a modification of the federal structure of Austria, the hostility of the conservative peasants and land-owning classes forced into closer relationship with Vienna found partial expression in movements like the *Heimwehr*. The history of Austria from 1927 till 1934 is the story of force feeding upon force. Both antagonists armed because their rivals did so, although the moderates on both sides were willing to disarm if the other party would do so first.

The turning-point came with the splitting-up of the *Bürgerblock* in the 1930 elections, for with the defection of the Schober group the main body of the party was compelled to turn to extreme right-wing elements for support in its struggle against the Social Democrats. The anti-socialist front tended to split up more and more as time went on, for, after the failure of the attempted *Anschluss* in 1931, the German Nationalists began to drift right away into the Nazi camp, leaving their erstwhile allies with no alternative to the *Heimwehr*. Thus the divisions in Christian Socialist ranks, though they gave temporary encouragement to the Social Democrats, were in reality

2: MacDonald S-4 (no date) 1946 EK1 Austria EK1

665 669 666 the beginning of the end, for reliance on the *Heimwehr* led almost inevitably to the crushing of the Social Democrats in 1934.[1]

665 668 The victory of the extremists was also in part a consequence of the tendency of both sides towards what may be described as party totalitarianism. This was especially the case on the Social Democrat side, for the tendency of the *Bürgerblock* to split up into small groups prevented this principle from working out so fully in their case. The Social Democrats, however, had from the beginning laid particular emphasis on the need for presenting a united front to the outside world, and had, indeed, been conspicuously successful in doing so.[2] They tried, with this end in view, to prevent the members of the party from coming into contact with people of other opinions who might influence them and draw them away from the Party orbit.[3] They therefore laboured to build up Social Democrat societies which would cover all a member's activities from the cradle to the grave. His intellectual and physical needs were all catered for within the party. The party provided him with his flat; built kindergartens for his children, organized sport clubs, literary clubs, political clubs, and social clubs for himself and his wife; took charge of his economic life, negotiating on his behalf with his bourgeois employers; and even provided burial clubs for his death. The organization of the Social

[1] It is interesting to note that Renner had drawn the attention of the party to this danger as early as 1929. He had urged that the Social Democrats should not make things too difficult for their opponents. 'Wir müssen mit unserem Bürgertum manchmal Geduld haben, auch in der Heimwehrsache.' (Speech at the 1924 Party Conference.) In 1930 he again drew attention, at the Party Conference, to this danger; although Seitz, on this occasion, spoke cheerfully of the approaching triumph of the Social Democrats.

[2] *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 9 January 1919. 'Es ist für das Proletariat weniger gefährlich, wenn es vorübergehend einen falschen Weg, aber diesen Weg einig u. geschlossen geht, als wenn es sich im Streit um den richtigen Weg spaltet. . . . Hundertmal lieber einen falschen Weg einig gehen—denn Fehler kann man dann wieder korrigieren—als um des rechten Weges willen, uns spalten.' (Bauer, at Party Conference, 1927.)

[3] It was even laid down, at the Linz Conference in 1926, that no member of the party could, without permission, carry on work which meant his appearance in public life with people who were members of other parties.

Aside from world politics, the arts 814

and sciences found in this gifted ruler,[1] himself a talented writer and thinker, an understanding patron. Albrecht Dürer and Peter Fischer enjoyed his favours and humanism found a home in Vienna.

> The peasant walks behind his plough in peace,
> While in the towns the workmen ply their trade
> And industries and guilds lift up their heads.
>
> (Ottocar, Rudolf, Act III)

1519 to 1521. The Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan first circumnavigates the world. 648 643

After the death of Maximilian, his grandchild Karl V took over a vast empire. He inherited Spain, Burgundy and the old Hapsburg possession; he was elected King in Germany and later crowned Emperor at Bologna. In 1521 he divided his Empire with his brother Ferdinand, to whom he gave the Austrian Duchies. From this time onwards one finds references to an Austrian and to a Spanish line of the House of Hapsburg. The reign of Karl V was filled with internal German conflicts arising out of the start of the reformation. Constant wars with France and Turkey left him no peace. Karl V was another of the strange, gloomy and apathetic figures to be found among the Hapsburg rulers. His plans to win back for the Imperial Crown its ancient power and splendour and to preserve the unity of the old Catholic faith were brought to naught, partly on account of the egotism of the Lutheran Princes but also because of their devotion to their faith. Karl thereupon renounced the crown and retired to the monastery of San Yuste in Spain. A lonesome and frustrated figure, he turned his back on that life which would have made him ruler of a world Empire.

1526. Bohemia and Hungary pass legally into the possession of Austria.

1528. Under Henry VIII, the first steps are taken which led up to the separation of the English Church from Rome.

1536. Death of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

> There order dwells, there order has its home
> While here confusion lives and vain caprice.
>
> (Family Strife, Rudolf, Act I)

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In the meantime Ferdinand was ruling prudently and ably in Austria. The new doctrines from Wittenberg quickly penetrated to Austria, where they spread rapidly. Soon appeared the first signs of a clash of beliefs which was to prove particularly significant for Austria. Efforts to bring about religious reforms brought with them social discontent, which manifested itself particularly in peasant revolts, and in the formation of the sect of the Baptists.

1540. Foundation of the order of Jesuits. [669]

1545 to 1563. Council of Trient. The Catholic Church grows more powerful and the Counter-Reformation begins. 648

In 1526, Ludwig II, King of Hungary and Bohemia, lost the day and his life as well in the battle of Mohacs against the Turks. Under the Treaties

[1] [i.e. the Emperor Maximilian.--Analyst]